

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJECT: PEOPLE'S DAILY HINTS AT APPEARANCE OF "NEW OPPOSITION
FACTION" WITHIN PARTY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. A PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE SEEMS TO ARGUE
ALLEGORICALLY THAT "A NEW OPPOSITION FACTION" HAS ARISEN
WITHIN THE PARTY FOLLOWING PURGE OF THE "GANG OF FOUR."
ALTHOUGH PARALLELS ARE BLURRY, THE OPPOSITIONISTS ARE
DESCRIBED IN TERMS SUGGESTIVE OF POLITBURO MEMBERS WU TEH,
LI TEH-SHENG, AND WANG TUNG-HSING. THE ARTICLE ALSO HINTS--
AGAIN ALLEGORICALLY--THAT THE DECLINING MAO WAS INCAPABLE
OF OVERSEEING DAILY AFFAIRS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE MARCH 19 PEOPLE'S DAILY CARRIES ON PAGE ONE A
SIGNED ARTICLE ("THE TROTSKYITES WHO GANGED UP TO USURP
POWER") BY THE PRESUMABLY PSEUDONYMOUS KU SHAN WHICH OPENS
BY DRAWING AN EXPLICIT ANALOGY BETWEEN TROTSKYITES AND
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THE "GANG OF FOUR"; "THE TROTSKYITES WERE SPLITTISTS
AND SCHEMERS...EXTREMELY SIMILAR TO THE GANG OF FOUR."
HAVING ESTABLISHED THIS FRAME OF REFERENCE, THE
ARTICLE DEPICTS OTHER SOVIET PERSONAGES OF THE 1920S
IN TERMS UNMISTAKABLE TO THE CHINESE READER. THE
"GREAT LEADER" LENIN IS A STAND-IN FOR MAO. STALIN,
AROUND WHOM "THE WHOLE PARTY AND PEOPLE CLOSELY

RALLIED" FOLLOWED LENIN'S DEATH, IS SKETCHED SO AS TO SUGGEST HUA KUO-FENG. AND THE "OLD BOLSCHEVIKS," "LONG-TESTED" VETERANS ATTACKED BY TROTSKY AS "BUREAUCRATIZED, RIGID AND CONSERVATIVE," SOUND LIKE SURROGATES FOR THE CHINESE OLD GUARD INCLUDING TENG HAI-SO-PING, YEH CHIEN-YING AND LI HSIEN-NIEN.

3. WHAT MAKES THESE PARALLELS MORE INTERESTING IS THE ARTICLE'S SUBSEQUENT REFERENCE TO THE APPEARANCE "WITHIN THE PARTY" OF A "NEW OPPOSITION FACTION" FOLLOWING THE FIRST DECISION TO OUST TROTSKY. LED BY ZINOVIEV AND KAMENEV, WHO HAD EARLIER "MASQUERADED" AS OPPONENTS OF TROTSKY, THIS "NEW OPPOSITION FACTION" OPENLY SWUNG OVER TO THE TROTSKYITE POSITION, "NEGATING LENIN'S LINE AND DISPUTING THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING SOCIALISM IN THE USSR." IN APRIL 1926 TROTSKY AND ZINOVIEV FORMED AN ALLIANCE; NEXT KAMENEV JOINED WITH TROTSKY TO ATTACK STALIN AND OPPOSE SELECTION OF "A LEADER."

4. READ AS AN ALLEGORY, THESE PASSAGES ADD UP TO AN INDICTMENT OF SEVERAL CURRENT LEADERS--POLITBURO MEMBERS SURELY--FOR PAST ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE "GANG OF FOUR," FOR DISPUTING THE CURRENT ECONOMIC LINE, AND FOR OPPOSING INVESTITURE OF HUA KUO-FENG WITH CONCURRENT PARTY, STATE AND MILITARY TITLES. BY EXTENSION, THIS GROUP ALSO STANDS OPPOSED TO THE OLD GUARD.

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5. PARALLELS BETWEEN ZINOVIEV AND KAMENEV AND CONTEMPORARY CHINESE LEADERS ARE BLURRED BUT SUGGESTIVE. ZINOVIEV, SAID TO HAVE CALLED HIMSELF "LENIN'S CLOSEST COMRADE-IN-ARMS," IS DESCRIBED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND OF THE LENINGRAD SOVIET; KAMENEV CONCURRENTLY CHAIRED THE MOSCOW SOVIET AND DIRECTED THE LENIN RESEARCH INSTITUTE. KAMENEV SEEMS A TRANSPARENT STAND-IN FOR PEKING PARTY BOSS WU TEH. ZINOVIEV IS MORE A COMPOSITE, HIS NORTHERN POWER BASE SUGGESTIVE OF SHENYANG MILITARY REGION COMMANDER LI TE-SHENG AND HIS LONG ASSOCIATION WITH LENIN AND HIS INTERNATIONALIST ROLE EVOCATIVE OF WANG TUNG-HSING, MAO'S LONG-TIME BODY-GUARD AND SECRET POLICE CHIEF WHO HAS TURNED OUT FOR MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN COMMUNIST LEADERS.

6. THE ARTICLE ALSO SUGGESTS A WAY TO HANDLE THE DELICATE PROBLEM OF MAO'S DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE 1976 DISMISSAL OF TENG HSIAO-PING. IN 1923, A

FULL YEAR PRIOR TO HIS DEATH, LENIN IS PORTRAYED
AS SUFFERING FROM DETERIORATING HEALTH AND THUS
"UNABLE TO OVERSEE AFFAIRS." (PU-NENG SHIH-SHIH).
IF THIS RELATIVELY FACE-SAVING INTERPRETATION OF
MAO'S FINAL DECLINE WINS GENERAL ACCEPTANCE, THE
LAST BARRIER TO TENG HSIAO-PING'S RETURN TO
GRACE AND POWER WILL HAVE BEEN FINESSED--FROM TENG'S
PERSPECTIVE. BUT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF HUA KUO-FENG
AND HIS BACKERS, A MAJOR DILEMMA WOULD REMAIN: HOW TO RECONCILE
DISMISSAL OF TENG BY AN "AILING" AND SENILE" MAO
WITH SELECTION OF SUCCESSOR HUA BY A CLEAR-MINDED AND
STILL-IN-CHARGE MAO.

7. MARCH 23 NCNA ENGLISH CARRIES A SUMMATION OF THE
KU SHAN ARTICLE WHICH EXCISES ALL PARTS WHICH CAN BE
READ AS ALLEGORICAL.

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